

Message Text

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ACTION EA-09

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1284

INFO AMEMBASSY JAKARTA

AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR

AMEMBASSY MANILA

AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

CINCPAC HONOLULU

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TAGS: PFOR, TH, US, SNAR

SUBJ: GENERAL KRIANGSAK MAKES PUBLIC ATTACK ON U.S. POLICIES

CINCPAC ALSO FOR POLAD

SUMMARY: FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF SPEECH ON SECURITY IN
THAILAND DELIVERED BY GEN. KRIANGSAK CHAMANAN TO JOINT EUROPEAN
CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE LUNCHEON MEETING IN BANGKOK APRIL 19.
END SUMMARY.

BEGIN TEXT. FIRST OF ALL, I MUST THANK THE FRANCO-THAI
CHAMBER OF COMMERCE FOR INVITING ME TO SPEAK TO THIS DIS-
TINGUISHED GATHERING OF MEMBERS OF THE JOINT CHAMBERS.
SECONDLY, I SHOULD MAKE CLEAR THAT I AM NOT A MEMBER OF THE
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GOVERNMENT. I AM SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S
ADVISORY COUNCIL. THERE IS A LOT OF MISUNDERSTANDING THAT
THIS IS A MOST POWERFUL POSITION. IT IS NOT* THE GOVERNMENT
ADMINISTERS THE COUNTRY. THE ADVISORY COUNCIL DOES ALL THAT IT CAN
TO HELP THE GOVERNMENT. THE GOVERNMENT IS NOT A PUPPET. THE COUN-
CIL MAKES RECOMMENDATIONS, AND IT IS UP TO THE GOVERNMENT TO
ACCEPT OR REJECT THEM. HOWEVER, IN MATTERS PRETAINING TO SECU-

RITY, THERE WILL BE A JOINT MEETING BETWEEN THE CABINET AND THE ADVISORY COUNCIL, AND THE GOVERNMENT HAS TO FOLLOW ANY CONCLUSIONS OR DECISIONS ARRIVED AT BY THIS JOINT MEETING.

2. NATIONAL SECURITY AND GOVERNMENTAL STABILITY ARE INTERESTING TOPICS AT THIS TIME, ESPECIALLY TO BUSINESSMEN AND POTENTIAL INVESTORS LIKE THIS AUDIENCE. DURING THE PAST THREE YEARS, THE ELECTED GOVERNMENTS DID NOT HAVE ANY STABILITY. THIS WAS DUE TO INTER-PARTY RIVALRY, INTRAPARTY CONFLICTS, POLITICAL HANUEVERING INSIDE AND OUTSIDE PARLIAMENT, ACTIONS OF PRESSURE GROUPS, DEMONSTRATIONS BY ACTIVISTS, LABOUR UNREST AND COMMUNIST SUBVERSION IN THE URBAN, AS WELL AS, THE RURAL AREAS. THE TAKEOVER BY THE NATIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM COUNCIL ON OCTOBER 6 LAST YEAR, FOLLOWING AN UPHEAVAL WHICH THREATENED OUR INSTITUTIONS AND SOVEREIGNTY, HAS HAD A STEADYING EFFECT ON THE SITUATION.

3. WE HAVE NIPPED IN THE BUD AN ATTEMPT BY THE COMMUNISTS TO CAPITALISE ON THE CHAOTIC CONDITIONS TO START URBAN GUERRILLA WARFARE IN THE BANGKOK METROPOLIS. WE HAVE REDUCED THE BOUNDING CRIME RATE. WE HAVE REACHED AN UNDERSTANDING WITH LABOUR LEADERS, AND WE ARE TAKING STEPS TO IMPROVE RELATIONS BETWEEN EMPLOYEES AND EMPLOYERS. WE HAVE RESUMED ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT WHICH HAD BEEN HALTED BY THE POLITICAL IN-FIGHTING OF THE PAST THREE YEARS. OUR PRIME MINISTER HAS ORDERED A SPEED-UP IN THE LAND REFORM PROGRAM WHICH SHOULD BE BENEFICIAL TO LANDLESS FARMERS. HE HAS ALSO MADE HIMSELF PERSONALLY RESPONSIBLE FOR PROMOTING INVESTMENT BY BECOMING CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF INVESTMENT.

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4. IT IS TRUE THAT WE DON'T HAVE AN ELECTED GOVERNMENT, BUT THAT DOESN'T MEAN THAT WE DON'T FAVOR DEMOCRACY. DURING THE PAST THREE YEARS, WE HAD SO MANY POLITICAL PARTIES THAT INSTEAD OF DEMOCRACY, WE HAD NEAR ANARCHY. SO MANY POLITICIANS BOUGHT VOTES TO GET ELECTED THAT THE PEOPLE HAD BECOME CYNICAL ABOUT REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT. SO MANY IRREGULARITIES WERE ALLEGED ABOUT MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT THAT THE PEOPLE BEGAN TO LOSE FAITH IN THE PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM. THE UNEASY COALITIONS THAT HAD TO BE FORMED WERE TOO WEAK AND POWERLESS TO ENFORCE LAW AND ORDER, RESULTING IN MOBS DICTATING TO THE GOVERNMENT.

5. THE CONSEQUENCES WERE NEGLECT OF THE ECONOMIC CRISIS INTO WHICH THE COUNTRY HAD BEEN THROWN, WITH THE POOREST PEOPLE BEING THE HARDEST HIT; NEGLECT OF THE COMMUNIST INSURGENCY WHICH BEGAN TO SPREAD FROM THE VILLAGES INTO THE TOWNS; DETERIORATING RELATIONS WITH COUNTRIES LIKE THE UNITED STATES AND MALAYSIA WITH WHICH WE HAVE CERTAIN COMMON IDEALS AND OBJECTIVES; AND, LAST BUT NOT LEAST, GENERAL POLITICAL INSTABILITY. THERE IS NO NEED FOR ME TO GO INTO GREATER DETAIL. THOSE OF YOU WHO HAVE BEEN

HERE DURING THESE CRUCIAL YEARS SAW THE SITUATION FOR YOURSELVES. PERHAPS, YOU WERE TOO COURTEOUS TO COMMENT ON THE SITUATION THEN, BUT YOUR FEELINGS HAVE BEEN EXPRESSED THROUGH YOUR WITHHOLDING OF INVESTMENTS IN THAILAND AND YOUR POSTPONEMENT OF BUSINESS EXPANSION. IF I MAY BOLDLY SAY SO, YOU WERE AFRAID THAT THAILAND WOULD BECOME ANOTHER VIETNAM, AND FALL UNDER COMMUNIST CONTROL.

6. BEFORE I GO FURTHER, I WISH TO MAKE CLEAR THAT A DEMOCRATIC FORM OF GOVERNMENT IS BEST FOR THAILAND. I AND MY COLLEAGUES --BY COLLEAGUES, I MEAN THOSE WHO WERE MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM COUNCIL AND ARE NOW MEMBERS OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S ADVISORY COUNCIL -- BELIEVE IN THIS FULLY. DEMOCRACY WITH HIS MAJESTY THE KING AS CONSTITUTIONAL HEAD IS NECESSARY FOR THE SURVIVAL OF OUR COUNTRY, WITH OUR NATIONAL IDENTITY, OUR INSTITUTIONS, OUR CULTURAL HERITAGE, OUR TRADITIONS AND OUR INDEPENDENCE INTACT.

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7. WE ARE FACING AN ENEMY WHO IS DETERMINED TO ATTAIN ITS DESIGN THROUGH FORCE, AND TO DESTROY OUR SOCIETY AND REPLACE IT WITH A WAY OF LIFE THAT IS TOTALLY FOREIGN, THERE CAN BE NO COMPROMISE WITH THE ENEMY. WE MUST TIGHTEN OUR DISCIPLINE AND RAISE OUR VALUES OF LIFE, BECAUSE THE STRUGGLE IS NOT ONLY IN THE JUNGLES, THE VILLAGES AND THE CITIES, BUT ALSO WITHIN OURSELVES. THE ENEMY MUST BE ENGAGED NOT ONLY WITH FORCE AND ARMS, BUT ALSO WITH OUR OWN NOBLE VALUES IN LIFE.

8. NATIONAL UNITY IS OF PRIME IMPORTANCE. FEW PEOPLE REALISE THE IMPORTANCE OF UNITY AND MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING. EVERYONE MUST KNOW AND ACCEPT THEIR RESPECTIVE RESPONSIBILITIES IN CREATING NATIONAL UNITY. THE LEADERS CANNOT BE SEPARATED FROM THE PEOPLE. THEIR LEADERSHIP MUST BE MORE THAN WORDS, THERE MUST BE ACTION AND THE LEADERS MUST PLACE NATIONAL INTERESTS ABOVE ALL ELSE. THE HIGHER THE POSITION OF THE LEADER, THE GREATER HIS RESPONSIBILITY.

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C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (TEXT)

9. WE VALUE HIGHLY FREEDOM OF THE INDIVIDUAL AND HUMAN RIGHTS,
AND WE ARE GLAD THAT PRESIDENT CARTER HAS COME OUT WITH A POSITIVE
POLICY ON THIS ISSUE. WHAT WE ARE TRYING TO DO, IS TO LAY FIRM
FOUNDATIONS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY WHERE THESE RIGHTS WILL NOT
BE JEOPARDISED. IN THE PAST THREE YEARS, THESE RIGHTS WERE EN-
DANGERED BECAUSE WE HAD POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC WEAKNESSES WHICH
WERE EXPLOITED BY THE COMMUNISTS WHO WERE SUBVERTING OUR
PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM. THE COMMUNISTS HAD TAKEN ADVANTAGE OF
THE PETTY FIGHTS FOR POWER AMONG OUR POLITICAL PARTIES; THEY
CONDUCTED AGITATION AND PROPAGANDA AMONG VARIOUS PRESSURE GROUPS,
PARTICULARLY INTELLECTUALS AND LIBERALS; THEY STIRRED UP UNREST
AMONG LABOURERS, FARMERS AND STUDENTS. THE ELECTED GOVERNMENTS
WERE UNABLE TO CARRY OUT THE NECESSARY PROGRAMS FOR ECONOMIC
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DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIAL REFORM WHICH WOULD HAVE IMPROVED THE
LIVING STANDARDS, RAISED THE INCOME OF LABOURERS AND FARMERS,
REDUCED THE GAP BETWEEN THE RICH AND THE POOR AND MADE IT
HARDER FOR THE COMMUNISTS TO ACHIEVE THEIR PURPOSES.

10. IT IS UNNECESSARY TO REMIND YOU THAT THAILAND IS A DEVELOPING
COUNTRY. THEREFORE, WE HAVE MANY POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND
SOCIAL PROBLEMS TO SOLVE. ALL OF THESE PROBLEMS ARE GRIST FOR THE
COMMUNIST MILL. WE NEED A PERIOD TO SET THINGS RIGHT. IF WE DON'T
DO SO NOW, OR IF WE FAIL TO DO SO, THE COMMUNISTS WILL BE IN
A POSITION TO FOMENT A REVOLUTION, AND WHEN THE COMMUNISTS TAKE
OVER, THERE WILL BE NO HUMAN RIGHTS LEFT. WITH THE 6 OCTOBER

TAKEOVER, WE HAVE BOUGHT TIME FOR THAILAND TO ATTEND TO THESE BASIC PROBLEMS, SYSTEMATICALLY AND DETERMINEDLY.

11. AND WE HAVE LEARNED CERTAIN LESSONS FROM VIETNAM. CORRUPTION IN HIGH PLACES WAS ONE OF THE MAIN REASONS FOR THE FALL OF THE SOUTH VIETNAM GOVERNMENT. DURING THE PAST THREE YEARS, THE PEOPLE HERE TALKED A LOT ABOUT CORRUPTION IN ADMINISTRATIVE AND PARLIAMENTARY CIRCLES. I DON'T KNOW THE FACTS, BUT IF THE PEOPLE DISCUSSED IT OR BELIEVED IT, THEN THE COMMUNISTS COULD HAVE USED THIS TO INCITE THE PEOPLE TO RISE UP AND OVERTHROW THE ELECTED GOVERNMENT.

12. THE PRIME MINISTER'S ADVISORY COUNCIL FULLY BACKS HIS GOVERNMENT IN ITS FIGHT AGAINST CORRUPTION. THE PRIME MINISTER HAS SPOKEN OPENLY ON THE SUBJECT. HE HAS ADMONISHED OFFICIALS AND MERCHANTS ALIKE, SAYING THAT CORRUPTION NEEDS A GIVER AND A TAKER, AND THAT IF BUSINESSMEN STOP GIVING BRIBES, THEY WOULD BE HELPING THE GOVERNMENT TACKLE CORRUPTION AS EFFECTIVELY AS POSSIBLE. IF ANY OF YOU HAVE ANY EVIDENCE AGAINST ANY OFFICIAL ACCUSED OF CORRUPTION, YOU SHOULD SEND IT TO THE ANTI-CORRUPTION COMMITTEE. THE GOVERNMENT IS ATTEMPTING TO IMPROVE THE INCOME AND WELFARE SERVICES OF OFFICIALS SO THAT THEY WILL BE LESS SUSCEPTIBLE TO CORRUPTION.

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13. THE EFFORTS TO ELIMINATE CORRUPTION ARE LONG-TERM ONES, BUT WE HOPE WITH YOUR CO-OPERATION TO BRING IT UNDER CONTROL AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. WE REALISE THAT THIS IS ESSENTIAL TO THE PROMOTION OF INVESTMENT, WHICH IS ANOTHER OF THE GOVERNMENT'S MAJOR PRIORITIES.

14. THE GOVERNMENT HAS INTRODUCED LEGISLATION TO MAKE IT EASY FOR INVESTORS, FOREIGN AS WELL AS LOCAL, TO OBTAIN PROMOTIONAL PRIVILEGES FOR INDUSTRIES PARTICULARLY DESIRED FOR NATIONAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND TO RECEIVE THE NECESSARY PERMITS. I UNDERSTAND THAT A ONE-STOP SERVICE HAS BEEN, OR IS BEING, SET UP SO THAT INVESTORS DO NOT HAVE TO GO TO A NUMBER OF MINISTRIES AND DEPARTMENTS TO OBTAIN VARIOUS DOCUMENTS.

15. THE PRIME MINISTER HAS GIVEN ASSURANCES THAT THERE WILL BE NO NATIONALISATION OR A REPETITION OF THE SO-CALLED TEMCO CASE; THE UNPLEASANT CIRCUMSTANCES ABOUT WHICH I WOULD NOT LIKE TO COMMENT NOW THAT IT IS BEHIND US. HE HAS ALSO ASSURED YOU OF SPECIAL CONSIDERATION FOR INVESTORS, THEIR EXECUTIVES AND EXPERTS AS FAR AS IMMIGRATION AND WORK PERMITS ARE CONCERNED. TARIFF EXEMPTIONS FOR MACHINERY AND RAW MATERIALS FOR ESSENTIAL INDUSTRIES HAVE ALSO BEEN PLEDGED.

16. I AM NOT GOING TO DEAL AT LENGTH ON WHAT THE GOVERNMENT HAS

DONE, IS DOING OR WILL DO WITH REGARD TO PROMOTING INVESTMENTS IN OUR COUNTRY. IF YOU HAVE ANY SUGGESTIONS, YOU ARE WELCOMED TO MAKE THEM TO THE PRIME MINISTER SINCE HE IS THE CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF INVESTMENT. I AM SURE HE WILL GIVE THEM CAREFUL CONSIDERATION.

17. AS A MEMBER OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S ADVISORY COUNCIL, I CAN ONLY SAY THAT THERE IS NO TIME LIKE THE PRESENT FOR INVESTMENTS. SINCE 6 OCTOBER 1976, WE HAVE ESTABLISHED LAW AND ORDER. YOU WILL HAVE NOTICED THAT, DESPITE AN OCCASIONAL ROBBERY OR MURDER, WHICH IS QUITE NORMAL FOR ANY BIG CITY, THE CRIME RATE HAS BEEN DRASTICALLY REDUCED. WE HAVE FORBIDDEN STRIKES AND "SHUT-
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DOWN", BUT WE ARE NOT IMPOSING THE PROHIBITION WITH REPRESSION. INSTEAD, WE TRY TO BRING ABOUT A COMPROMISE BETWEEN THE NEEDS OF THE LABOURER AND THE NEEDS OF MANAGEMENT SO THAT THERE IS FAIRNESS ALL AROUND. RESPONSIBLE EMPLOYERS ARE NOW HELPING ME SET UP A FUND TO ASSIST LABOURERS AND THEIR FAMILIES IN OVERCOMING THEIR HARDSHIPS.

18. THE OBJECTIVES OF THIS FOUNDATION ARE HUMANE AND THE AID WE OFFER IS DIFFERENT FROM THE COMPENSATIONS PROVIDED BY THE LAW. WE WISH TO PROVIDE EDUCATION TO THE LABOURERS. THIS WILL SHOW THEM THAT CAPITALISTS ARE NOT ALL BAD, THAT WE DO HAVE ENLIGHTENED EMPLOYERS AND THAT THEY ARE NOT OBLIVIOUS TO THE PROBLEMS OF THE LABOURERS. IT WILL MAKE FOR BETTER RELATIONS BETWEEN EMPLOYERS AND EMPLOYEES, MAKE STRIKES UNNECESSARY AND MAY EVEN ENCOURAGE GREATER PRODUCTION. LABOURERS WILL ALSO BE LESS LIKELY TO LISTEN TO AGITATORS.

19. SO FAR THAI INDUSTRIALISTS AND MERCHANTS HAVE PLEDGED SUPPORT. WE ALSO WELCOME ANY CONTRIBUTIONS YOU MIGHT MAKE, FOR AS YOU ALL REALISE, A HEALTHLY LABOUR SITUATION IS CONDUCIVE TO THE SUCCESS OF YOUR BUSINESS.

20. LET US NOT FORGET THAT THE LABOURERS, ALTHOUGH THEY USE THEIR PHYSICAL CAPABILITIES FOR A LIVING, HAVE DEVELOPED THEIR MENTAL FACULTIES. THEY HAVE BEEN ABLE TO ORGANISE FOR THEIR OWN INTERESTS AND GENERALLY DESIRE ONLY FAIR AND PROPER TREATMENT. LABOUR LEADERS HAVE ASSURED ME THAT LABOURERS WILL NOT ALLOW THEMSELVES TO BE USED TO DESTROY THE INSTITUTIONS FOR WHICH THEY HAVE AFFECTION AND LOYALTY.

21. WE DO HAVE AN INSURGENCY PROBLEM. YOU HAVE READ PRESS REPORTS OF COMMUNIST ATTACKS ON GOVERNMENT OUTPOSTS, AMBUSHES OF OFFICIAL PATROLS, THE SHOOTING DOWN OF HELICOPTERS AND THE ASSASSINATIONS OF HIGH OFFICIALS. THESE REPORTS COULD CAUSE ALARM, HOWEVER THEY ARE ALL ISOLATED INCIDENTS. THE COMMUNISTS HAVE NOT GAINED ANY MORE TERRITORY NOR HAVE THEY WON OVER LARGE

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NUMBERS OF PEOPLE. A FEW MISLED STUDENTS HAVE GONE INTO THE JUNGLE, BUT A NUMBER HAVE ALREADY RETURNED HOME. THE COMMUNISTS HAVE LOST MANY MEMBERS, BOTH MALE AND FEMALE, THROUGH DEFECTIONS.

22. IT HAD BEEN WIDELY SPECULATED THAT THE COMMUNISTS WOULD START A MAJOR OFFENSIVE THIS DRY SEASON, BUT UP UNTIL NOW THEY HAVE BEEN UNABLE TO DO SO. THIS IS PROBABLY BECAUSE THEY REALISE THEY CANNOT OBTAIN THE MASS SUPPORT THAT IS NEEDED FOR A SUCCESSFUL OPERATION.

23. THE COMMUNISTS HAVE WORKED FOR MANY YEARS, BUT HAVE FAILED TO WIN POPULAR SUPPORT. THEIR SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES HAVE BECOME MORE AND MORE DIFFICULT AS A RESULT OF THE FALL OF LAOS AND VIETNAM TO COMMUNIST RULE. OUR PEOPLE HAVE SEEN, AT CLOSE RANGE, WHAT IT IS LIKE TO BE GOVERNED BY THE COMMUNISTS, AND THEY DON'T LIKE IT. A COMMUNIST REGIME IS UNACCEPTABLE TO THE THAI COMMUNITY.

24. AS THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THAILAND (CPT) KEEPS POSTPONING THE DATE THEY HAVE PROCLAIMED FOR THE SO-CALLED "LIBERATION", THOSE WHO HAVE SYMPATHISED WITH THEM ARE LOSING FAITH. AT THE SAME TIME, THEY ARE BECOMING MORE AND MORE ANNOYED BY THE CONTINUING DEMANDS FOR FOOD AND OTHER SUPPLIES. THE SYMPATHISERS HAVE TO DEPRIVE THEMSELVES IN ORDER TO FEED THE PARTY. IN A NUMBER OF VILLAGES IN THE NORTH AND THE NORTHEAST, PEOPLE HAVE TO SHARE THEIR RICE WITH THE CPT HIDING IN THE JUNGLES TO SUCH AN EXTENT THAT THEY HAVE RICE TO EAT ONLY ON ALTERNATE DAYS.

25. UNLIKE PREVIOUSLY, WE, RATHER THAN THE CPT, HAVE TIME ON OUR SIDE. AS WE CARRY OUT SUPPRESSION OPERATIONS AGAINST THE ARMED GUERRILLAS, COMBAT CORRUPTION, CARRY OUT ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS, AND INTRODUCE LAND AND OTHER SOCIAL REFORMS, THE CAPABILITY OF THE COMMUNISTS TO INCITE THE MASSES TO REVOLT WILL LESSEN.

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26. I WILL STATE HERE, UNEQUIVOCALLY, THAT THE THAI PEOPLE AND THE THAI SOLDIERS, INCLUDING MYSELF, WILL KEEP ON FIGHTING THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THAILAND IN ALL FIELDS, WHEREVER IT CHALLENGES OUR INSTITUTIONS. I AM CONFIDENT THAT WE CAN CONTAIN IT AND EVENTUALLY DEFEAT IT, UNLESS IT RECEIVES MASSIVE SUPPORT FROM A MAJOR POWER.

27. WE HAVE ALREADY BEEN MAKING DIPLOMATIC INITIATIVES WHICH WILL HELP US TO KEEP OUR COUNTRY NON-COMMUNIST AND PRESERVE OUR CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY.

28. WE HAVE RECENTLY RESTORED NEIGHBORLY RELATIONS WITH MALAYSIA WHICH HAD BEEN STRAINED BECAUSE OF THE WAY ITS FORCES WERE ORDERED TO LEAVE THAI TERRITORY LAST YEAR FOLLOWING A COMMUNIST-INSPIRED DEMONSTRATION. WE ARE NOW CLOSELY CO-UNCLASSIFIED

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OPERATING ALONG OUR COMMON BORDER AGAINST A COMMON ENEMY--THE COMMUNIST TERRORISTS. OUR JOINT OPERATIONS HAVE BEEN EFFECTIVE NOT ONLY IN DESTROYING THE TERRORIST'S CAMPS, BUT ALSO IN KEEPING THE COMMUNISTS ON THE RUN.

29. WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO RE-ESTABLISH AMICABLE RELATIONS WITH THE UNION OF BURMA AFTER YEARS OF SUSPICION CONCERNING BURMESE REBEL ACTIVITIES ALONG THE BORDER--ACTIVITIES WHICH WE DON'T SUPPORT, AND DON'T WANT TO SUPPORT. WE WILL ALSO BE CO-ORDINATING OUR EFFORTS IN SUPPRESSING THE NARCOTICS TRADE IN THE "GOLDEN TRIANGLE".

30. WE HAVE STRENGTHENED RELATIONS WITH ALL ASEAN PARTNERS--MALAYSIA, SINGAPORE, INDONESIA AND THE PHILIPPINES. AS A RESULT,

ASEAN HAS MADE GREAT PROGRESS WITHIN A SHORT TIME, AND IS BECOMING A SIGNIFICANT BLOC WITH A TOTAL POPULATION OF 200 MILLION, RICH NATURAL RESOURCES AND AN IMPORTANT GEOPOLITICAL POSITION.

31. AT THE SAME TIME, WE HAVE ALSO DECLARED A POLICY OF FRIENDSHIP WITH ALL COUNTRIES, IRRESPECTIVE OF DIFFERENCES IN OUR POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL OR IDEOLOGICAL SYSTEMS, SO LONG AS EVERYONE IS SINCERE ABOUT THE PRINCIPLES OF PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE WHICH INCLUDE NON-INTERFERENCE IN DOMESTIC AFFAIRS.

32. WE HAVE OFFERED THE HAND OFFRIENDSHIP TO LAOS, CAMBODIA AND VIETNAM. DESPITE OCCASIONAL BORDER INCIDENTS, WE KEEP OURSELVES RESTRAINED BECAUSE WE BELIEVE IN THE IMPORTANCE OF MAINTAINING REGIONAL PEACE AND STABILITY. WE ARE VERY PATIENT, ALTHOUGH WE KNOW THAT "OUTSIDE" COMMUNISTS ARE TRAINING, SUPPORTING AND SUPPLYING THE INSURGENTS IN OUR COUNTRY, WE HEAR REPORTS OF RESISTANCE IN NEIGHBORING COMMUNIST COUNTRIES, BUT WE DO NOTHING TO EXPLOIT THE SITUATION. WE KEEP A HANDS-OFF POLICY, BECAUSE WE HOPE THAT IN THE END THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE FORMER INDOCHINA STATES WILL REALIZE THAT THAILAND AND OUR ASEAN ALL-IES ARE ONLY INTERESTED IN PEACEFUL AND MUTUALLY ADVANTAGEOUS RELATIONS WITH THEM.
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33. WE ARE CONTINUING OUR POLICY OF PROMOTING FRIENDSHIP WITH COMMUNIST AND NEUTRALIST COUNTRIES IN OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD. HOWEVER, WE WILL CARRY ON OUR FIGHT AGAINST DOMESTIC COMMUNISTS WHO HAVE TAKEN UP ARMS TO OVERTHROW OUR LEGAL GOVERNMENT AND INSTITUTIONS.

34. REGARDING THE INTERNAL SITUATION, IT IS POSSIBLE THAT YOU MAY BE THINKING THAT THE THREAT TO THE GOVERNMENT DOES NOT COME FROM THE COMMUNISTS ALONE. ON MARCH 26 A COUP ATTEMPT WAS MADE BY A GROUP OF SOLDIERS AND CIVILIANS, BUT IT WAS PEACEFULLY SETTLED.

I DON'T NEED TO GO INTO THE DETAILS AS YOU MUST HAVE READ THE NEWSPAPER ACCOUNTS OF THE INCIDENT AND MY PRESS CONFERENCE AFTER THE COUP BID HAD BEEN CRUSHED WITHOUT BLOODSHED. WE REGRET THE DEATH OF GENERAL AROON THAWATHASIN, THE FIRST ARMY DIVISION COMMANDER, WHO WAS KILLED BY THE PLOTTERS AT THE BEGINNING OF THEIR ATTEMPT. HE HAS MADE A SACRIFICE FOR THE COUNTRY AND WE PAY TRIBUTE TO HIM. THIS WAS A PERSONAL LOSS FOR ME. I WAS HIS TEACHER AT THE GENERAL STAFF COLLEGE, AND I TOOK HIM ON MISSIONS TO BURMA AND MALAYSIA.

35. INVESTIGATIONS ARE STILL PROCEEDING IN THE COUP CASE, AND I WOULD NOT LIKE TO MAKE FURTHER COMMENT BECAUSE THE CASE WILL SOON GO TO LEGAL PROCESSING. THE FACT THAT THE COUP ATTEMPT WAS PEACEFULLY THWARTED SHOWS THAT THE GOVERNMENT DOES HAVE STABILITY AS

FAR AS MILITARY SUPPORT IS CONCERNED.

36. I WOULD LIKE TO COMMEND THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT FOR THEIR LONG FIGHT AND STRONG DETERMINATION TO COMBAT ILLEGAL NARCOTICS. THIS IS EVIDENCED BY THE NEW SELECT COMMITTEE ON NARCOTICS ABUSE AND CONTROL. THIS COMMITTEE WAS SET UP TO COORDINATE AND INVESTIGATE THE U.S. NARCOTICS CONTROL EFFORTS IN THE UNITED STATES AND OVERSEAS. THIS HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES COMMITTEE HAS RESPONSIBILITY FOR WORK PREVIOUSLY ASSIGNED TO SEVEN COMMITTEES IN THE HOUSE.

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37 BY ASSIGNING MR. LESTER WOLFF, DEMOCRAT OF NEW YORK TO CHAIR THIS COMMITTEE, THE GOVERNMENT HAS PUT THE RIGHT MAN IN THE RIGHT JOB. I AM SURE THAT IT WILL PRODUCE POSITIVE RESULTS. MR. WOLFF HAS BEEN MY GOOD FRIEND FOR A LONG TIME. HE IS COMPETENT, STRONG WILLED AND HAS THE DETERMINATION TO PERFORM THIS MISSION OF COMBATTING NARCOTICS. MR. CARTER'S PERSONAL INTEREST AND THESE NEW CONTROL MEASURES ARE MOST REASSURING.

38 WE FULLY SUPPORT THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST NARCOTICS, AND OUR GOVERNMENT HAS DECLARED THIS AS ONE OF ITS TOP PRIORITIES. NARCOTICS ARE A DANGER TO NATIONAL AS WELL AS INDIVIDUAL HEALTH. WE CONDEMN NARCOTIC TRADERS WHO HAVE BEEN APTLY DESCRIBED AS "MERCHANTS OF DEATH". INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION IS NECESSARY TO COMBAT THE SPREAD OF NARCOTICS.

39. I WOULD LIKE TO COMMEND THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT FOR ITS PROMPT RESPONSE TO OUR GOVERNMENT'S ANNOUNCEMENT OF ITS ANTI-NARCOTICS POLICY. THE HELICOPTERS IT SUPPLIED ARE BEING USED FOR SIGHTING AND TRACKING DOWN OPIUM CARAVANS AND FOR SPOTTING HEROIN FACTORIES.

40. HOWEVER, I HOPE THAT IT IS NOT PRESUMPTIOUS OF ME TO MAKE CERTAIN POINTS WITH REGARD TO THE AMERICAN DRUG SUPPRESSION OPERATIONS. THEY ARE MEANT NOT AS CRITICISMS, BUT AS CONSTRUCTIVE COMMENTS.

A) AMERICAN ADMINISTRATORS APPEAR TO HEED SELF-DELUDING REPORTS WITHOUT MAKING THEIR OWN ON-THE-SPOT OBSERVATIONS. AS A RESULT, THEY FAIL TO HAVE THE FACTS NECESSARY FOR THE RIGHT DECISIONS AND ACTIONS. THAT IS WHY MISTAKES, REGRETTABLY, HAVE BEEN MADE.

B) APPARENTLY, AMERICAN ADMINISTRATORS PUT TOO MUCH TRUST IN COMPUTERS, BANKING ON IMMEDIATE SHORT-TERM RESULTS FROM ANY EXPENDITURE. THERE HAVE BEEN MANY JOKES ABOUT

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EMBARRASSING MISTAKES MADE BY COMPUTERS. IT IS BETTER TO CONSIDER MAKING A FEW WISE INVESTMENTS WHICH WILL HAVE LONG-TERM EFFECTS AND OBTAIN GENERAL POLICY OBJECTIVES.

C) AMERICAN ADMINISTRATORS SEEM TO FORGET THE POVERTY OF THE PEOPLE IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. BECAUSE THEY ARE NOT HUNGRY, THE AMERICANS APPEAR TO DESIRE ONLY TO SEE THE RESULTS THEY WISH TO SEE, WITHOUT GIVING THOUGHT TO ACTIVITIES WHICH CAN BRING PERMANENT SUCCESS FOR THE GENERAL BENEFIT OF THE WORLD.

D) IT MAY BE HARSH TO SAY THIS, BUT AMERICAN ADMINSTRATORS SEEM TO BE SELFISHLY SEEKING RESULTS IN THE NARCOTICS CAMPAIGN WHILE FORGETTING THAT 200 MILLION PEOPLE ARE ANXIOUS ABOUT THEIR FUTURE AND SURVIVAL. THESE ARE THE PEOPLE OF THE SEAN COUNTRIES.

E) A TEAM SENT OUT ON A CASE MAY BE CAPABLE, BUT SEEMS TO HAVE NO IDEA OF POLICY OR STRATEGY.

F) THE UNITED STATES SHOULD ANALYSE AND REASSESS ITS POLICY. IT SHOULD TAKE A COOL LOOK AT WHAT IT HAS DONE, HOW MUCH MONEY IT HAS SPENT AND WHAT RESULTS IT HAS ACHIEVED. TO OBTAIN INTELLIGENCE, QUESTIONS ARE ASKED, AND IF THE INTERVIEWER FALLS VICTIM TO A CRAFTY INFORMANT SEEKING TO ADVANCE HIS OWN PURPOSES, FALSE DATA IS OBTAINED.

G) WE WONDER WHAT SORT OF POLICY MAKES IT DIFFICULT FOR THE UNITED STATES TO OBTAIN THE FULL AND WILLING CO-OPERATION OF THE UNION OF BURMA.

H) MOST OF THE OPIUM IS IN THE HANDS OF THE COMMUNISTS. THE BURMESE COMMUNIST PARTY HAS GAINED CONTROL OF THE BURMESE STATES BETWEEN THE CHINESE BORDER AND KENG TUNG THROUGH THE FORCE OF ARMS. THIS IS THE MOST IMPORTANT PART OF THE DRUG-PRODUCING "GOLDEN TRIANGLE", THOUGH FAMOUS, THE "GOLDEN UNCLASSIFIED

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TRIANGLE" IS BUT A SMALL AREA WHERE OPIUM IS GROWN. SOUTH ASIA MUST NOT BE FORGOTTEN. TURKEY, IRAN AND INDIA, WHERE OPIUM GROWING IS SANCTIONED BY THE GOVERNMENT. CAN AND DO PROVIDE LARGE AMOUNTS OF OPIUM FOR THE WORLD MARKETS. EFFORTS TO ERRADICATE ILLEGAL OPIUM PRODUCTION HAVE SO FAR MET WITH DISMAL FAILURES BECAUSE OF THE INCREASING LUCRATIVE MARKETS. IN THE HIGHLANDS OF NORTHERN THAILAND, COMMUNIST-INFILTRATED HILL TRIBES ARE STILL GROWING OPIUM.

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ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EAE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00
USIE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-02 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 IO-13
ACDA-10 EUR-12 AID-05 EB-08 TRSE-00 STR-04 OMB-01
CEA-01 COME-00 FRB-01 XMB-04 OPIC-06 LAB-04
SIL-01 AGRE-00 IGA-02 DHA-02 ITC-01 SCA-01 CU-04
SNM-02 DEAE-00 /133 W

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FM AMEMBASSY BANGKOK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1287
INFO AMEMBASSY JAKARTA
AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR
AMEMBASSY MANILA
AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI
CINCPAC HONOLULU

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HERE IT IS WORTHY OF NOTE, THAT THERE APPEARS TO BE A
CONFLICT OF INTEREST BETWEEN OUR CAMPAIGN AGAINST NARCOTICS AND OUR
CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE COMMUNISTS. HWEREVER WE HAVE PUSHED HARD
AGAINST THE HILL TRIBES FOR PLANTING OPIUM--IN TAK, CHIANG RAI,
AND NAN PROVINCES, FOR EXAMPLE--THEY BECOME HOSTILE TO THE
GOVERNMENT AND ARE EASILY MANIPULATED BY THE COMMUNISTS. THAT IS
WHY TODAY SO MANY HILL TRIBES ARE COMMUNIST-INFILTRATED AND LED.

WE HAVE TO CARRY ON THE TWO CONTRARY CAMPAINGS ALONG
PARALLEL LINES IN ORDER TO RID OURSELVES OF TWO EVILS--ONE:
COMMUNISM, WHICH DIRECTLY AFFECTS OUR SECURITY AND SURVIVAL; AND
THE OTHER: NARCOITCS, WHICH IS AFFECTING THE YOUTH NOT ONLY OF
THAILAND, BUT THOSE OF THE UNITED STATES AND OTHER COUNTRIES AS
WELL.

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I) THE OPIUM TRADE HAS BEEN GOING ON FOR A LONG TIME,
EXISTING EVEN BEFORE THE UNITED STATES CAME INTO BEING.

J) WHERE THERE ARE MARKETS, THERE IS BOUND TO BE TRADE,
EITHER LEGAL OR ILLEGAL. THE BROBLEM OF GETTING RID
OF THE SOURCES OF THE DRUG TRADE IS AS ENORMOUS AS
THAT OF GETTING RID OF THE MAFIA IN AMERICA WHICH IS
DEALING IN NAROCTICS. THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
WHICH FINDS IT SO DIFFICULT OT DEAL WITH THE NARCOTICS
SALES PROBLEM IN ITS OWN COUNTRY, SHOULD APPRECIATE THE
DIMENSIONS OF DEALING WITH OUR END OF THE PROBLEM--
DIMENSIONS WHICH ARE LARGER BECAUSE THEY ARE SO INTRICATE,
INVOLVING POPPY CULTIVATION BY THOUSANDS OF HILL TRIBES,
THE CHANGING JUNGLE TRAILS OF THE OPIUM CARAVAS, THE
MANUFACTURE OF HEROIN IN FACTORIES HIDDEN IN THE JUNGLES
OF INDETERMINATE BORDER AREAS AND THE VARIOUS SMUGGLING
GANGS WITH THEIR CLANDESTINE METHODS.

K) THOSE WHO CRITICISE THAILAND FOR CORRUPTION AMONG OFFICIALS
CONCERNED WITH DRUG ENFORCEMENT, SHOULD ALSO LOOK INTO THE
CORRUPTION IN AMERICAN OFFICAL CIRCLES WHICH HAS MADE IT
POSSIBLE FOR THE NARCOTIC TRADE TO FLOURISH IN AMERICA.
(THIS PASSAGE, AS DELIVERED, WAS SOFTENED TO REFER TO
CORRECTION BY" OTHER COUNTRIES' OFFICIALS.")

L) THE UNITED STATE SHAS BEEN ABLE TO SEND MEN TO THE MOON.
IT HAS BUILT SOPHISTICATED WEAPONS FOR ITS OWN DEFENCE.
WHY CANT'T IT DO ANY THING EFFECTIVE ABOUT PREVENTING
NARCOTICS GETTING TO ITS SHORES?

41. THIS A TIME WHEN THE UNITED STATES NEEDS ALL THE
FIRIENDS AND CO-OPERATION IT CAN GET. THERE ARE ONLY A RELATIVELY
FEW COUNTRIES LEFT IN THE WORLD WHICH TRULY SUBSCRIBE TO THE IDEA
OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT AND WHICH SINCERELY DESIRE TO STAMP OUT
THE NARCOTICS TRADE. AMERICA CANNOT SIT IN MORAL JUDGEMENT FOR
NONE OF US ARE PERFECT. AMERICA IS NOT PERFECT. IT HAS ITS
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RACIAL PROBLEMS, ITS CIVIL OR HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEMS AND ITS
PREJUDICES, BUT AMERICA HAS NOBLE OBJECTIVES, AND SO HAVE WE.

42. IT IS NATURAL FOR AMERICA, STUNNED BY ITS DEFEAT IN
VIETNAM AND SHOCKED BY WATERGATE, TO MOVE AROUND MORE CAUTIOUSLY IN
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS. WHAT IS HAPPENING TO THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE
TODAY, WHO ARE ROBBED OF ALL FREEDOMS AND HUMAN RIGHTS, SHOWS
THAT WHAT AMERICA HAD TRIED TO DO, THAT IS, PREVENT THE TAKEOVER OF
SOUTH VIETNAM BY FORCE, WAS MORALLY CORRECT. BUT THAT IS WATER
UNDER THE BRIDGE NOW.

43. WE ALL HAVE TO ADJUST TO THE REALITIES OF THE PRESENT-DAY WORLD, ESPECIALLY AMERICA. AS IN PREVIOUS YEARS, THE PAST YEAR SAW MORE TERRITORY AND PEOPLE COME UNDER COMMUNIST DOMINATION.

44. AMERICA WILL HAVE TO DECIDE IF IT WANTS TO LIVE ALONE WHILE THE REST OF THE WORLD BECOMES COMMUNIST. WHENEVER THERE IS COMBAT BETWEEN THE COMMUNIST INSURGENTS AND THE LEGAL GOVERNMENT OF A DEVELOPING COUNTRY, THE SO-CALLED "IDEALISTS" AND "LIBERALS" OF AMERICA HAVE MADE COMMON CAUSE WITH THE INSURGENTS AND USED THEIR INFLUENCE IN THE MASS MEDIA TO UNDERMINE THE GOVERNMENT. THIS CONFUSES THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, AND CAUSES THEM TO DOUBT THE SINCERITY OF THAT GREAT COUNTRY.

45. WE STILL WANT CLOSE FRIENDSHIP WITH AMERICA, BUT WE FEEL THAT WE SHOULD NOT DEPEND ON HER TOO MUCH. WE HAVE TO DEPEND UPON OURSELVES AND UPON THE ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN NATIONS. WE ARE TRYING TO DIVERSIFY OUR SOURCES OF DEFENCE SUPPLIES SO THAT WE ARE NOT TIED TOO CLOSELY TO AMERICA AS FAR AS THE DEFENCE OF OUR COUNTRY IS CONCERNED. IF ATTACKED, WE ARE UNCERTAIN IF AMERICA WILL COME TO OUR ASSISTANCE.

46. HOWEVER, I WISH TO STRESS THAT WE CONSIDER OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE UNITED STATES A SPECIAL ONE. IT IS A RELATIONSHIP THAT IS OF MUTUAL ADVANTAGE. IT IS NOT THAILAND ALONE WHO GAINS FROM THIS UNCLASSIFIED

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RELATIONSHIP, BUT THE AMERICANS ALSO.

47. THAILAND AND OUR PARTNERS IN ASEAN ARE SITUATED IN A STRATEGIC PART OF THE WORLD, THIS IS RECOGNISED BY SOVIET RUSSIA AND BY CHINA, BOTH WITH WHICH WE ARE TRYING TO PROMOTE EVEN-HANDED AND FRIENDLY RELATIONS, BECAUSE WE WISH NEITHER TO EXERCISE A DOMINEERING INFLUENCE OVER OUR REGION. THE UNITED STATES, HAVING BURNED ITS FINGER IN THE FLAMES OF THE VIETNAM WAR, IS HESITANT ABOUT THE IMPORTANCE OF THIS REGION. THE NEW LEADERS AND POLICYMAKERS WILL HAVE TO OPEN THEIR EYES PRETTY SOON AND SEE THE IMPLICATIONS OF DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA TO AMERICAN INTERESTS AND SECURITY.

48. WE DON'T WISH TO RELY ENTIRELY UPON AMERICAN ECONOMIC OR MILITARY ASSISTANCE. THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT AND CONGRESS ARE ALREADY CUTTING DOWN ON SUCH AID. WE SYMPATHISE WITH THE ECONOMIC REASONS FOR THIS AND REALISE THAT AMERICA WILL ONLY HELP THOSE WHO HELP THEMSELVES. WE ALSO KNOW THAT SHE WILL ONLY HELP THOSE WHICH CAN FURTHER HER STRATEGIC, POLITICAL OR ECONOMIC INTERESTS.

49. WE IN ASEAN, AS A BLOC, ARE WILLING TO NEGOTIATE WITH THE UNITED STATES, WITH CHINA OR WITH RUSSIA ON A BASIS OF EQUALITY, NON-INTERVENTION IN OUR INTERNAL AFFAIRS AND MUTUAL BENEFIT. WE

ARE NOT GOING TO ANYONE WITH A BEGGING BOWL. IF ANYONE FEELS
THAT IT IS TO THEIR INTEREST OR BENEFIT TO DEAL WITH US, THEY
ARE WELCOMED TO HAVE TALKS WITH US;

50. ALREADY, JAPAN, AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND HAVE REALISED
THE IMPORTANCE AND POTENTIAL POWER OF ASEAN. THEY ARE SENDING THEIR
PRIME MINSTERS TO MEET WITH OUR HEADS OF GOVERNMENT AFTER THEIR
SUMMIT MEETING TO BE HELD IN KUALA LUMPUR IN AUGUST. WITH CHIAN AND
RUSSIA ALREADY ENGAGED IN A STRUGGLE FOR INFLUENCE IN THIS REGION,
LET'S HOPE THAT AMERICA WILL NOT MISS THE BOAT.

51. THE AMERICANS CAN BEST INITIALLY EXPRESS THEIR INTEREST
BY INVESTING IN OUR COUNTRY. THEY SHOULD BE ABLE TO SEE, AS
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MALAYSIA, SINGAPORE, INDONESIA AND THE PHILIPPINES SEE, THAT
IT IS IN THAILAND WHERE THE COMMUNISTS HAVE TO BE STOPPED.
I AM CONFIDENT THAT IT IS HERE THAT THEY CAN, AND WILL, BE
STOPPED.

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, I THANK YOU.

END TEXT.
WHITEHOUSE

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